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and it will insist that the Conference give its attention to the high tasks of constructive work for which its calling has been demanded.

It is not possible just yet to determine all the subjects which will be put upon the program, but in general they are well understood and mapped out. The Interparliamentary Union, the Peace Congress, the International Law Association, the National Peace Conferences, eminent diplomats and international jurists, the great monthly and weekly journals, etc., have all been studying the topics with which the Conference ought to deal and making practical suggestions thereon.

There is considerable skepticism as to the possibility of getting the question of reduction or limitation of armaments practically dealt with. But the demand for their arrest and reduction has become so great and so insistent that it will be difficult for the Conference to neglect the subject, and we shall be surprised if some practical step, even if small, is not taken. A general treaty of obligatory arbitration for all the nations, stipulating final recourse to the Hague Court for, at least, certain classes of controversies, is certain to find a leading place in the deliberations. The numerous arbitration treaties which have already been concluded between the nations of Europe and those of South America, two and two, have paved the way and created a strong demand for something more general and comprehensive. There is a third subject which will take, or ought to take, a commanding place in the deliberations, namely, that of the establishment of a regular congress or parliament of the nations to meet periodically for the discussion of international problems. The interest in this proposal that has developed since the Massachusetts Legislature first brought it practically before the public, has been quite unprecedented, and there will be an almost irresistible demand from many sources that it be dealt with at The Hague. Many are hoping that, as a beginning of a practical solution of the question, the coming Conference may recommend to the governments that The Hague meetings may be made regular and periodic hereafter. Out of that everything else would grow in time.

Among the other subjects whose consideration will naturally come up will be (a) the rights and duties of neutrals, (b) the inviolability of private property at sea in time of war, (c) the codification of international law, (d) the renewal of certain expired conventions of the first Hague Conference, (e) and the extension of the principle of neutralization to further territories and waterways, including, it is to be hoped, the neutralization of the great trade routes on the ocean, as proposed by the Massachusetts State Board of Trade.

In order that this new Hague Conference may accomplish all that needs to be done, there ought to be, as there was in the case of the meeting in 1899, a great

uprising and expression of public interest in the work which is expected of it. It ought to be talked about, and written about, and "resolved" about, and prayed and preached about, until the whole public atmosphere becomes surcharged with the force of it. In this direction lies for the moment the duty of every one of us. It will not yet do to take too much for granted. The first Hague Conference was saved from uselessness and powerfully vitalized by the crusade which preceded and attended it, and though there is not the danger of failure in this case that there was in that, yet the coming Conference will accomplish a great work or a small one, in proportion to the amount of intelligent public pressure that is brought to bear upon it.

Some Lessons of the Russo-Japanese War.

It is not possible yet to draw all the lessons of the conflict. Some of the most certain fruits of war are gathered only after many years. It will be so in this case. But there are lessons which require no time to understand, and the sooner they are allowed to come home to men the better for the world.

We do not refer here to such lessons as the military and naval promoters have drawn from the fighting. They have been quick to turn the processes of the war to their own purposes. They have found their theories of the necessity of big battleships, or of swarming flotillas of torpedo boats, or of special forms of tactics, forts, bayonet charges, etc., supported or knocked over, and they hurry to have these lessons applied to the armaments and war training of their own countries. They ask for bigger ships and stouter fortifications and deadlier explosives. With these lessons we have nothing to do. They have to do with the art of death and destruction, of conquest and humiliation of fellowmen, and we leave them to those who still believe in international duelling and international slaughter.

One of the most evident lessons of the war is the one to which we called attention last month in commenting on the riots and lawlessness in Japan which followed the Peace of Portsmouth. War militarizes a people, always and everywhere. The effect may be measurably counteracted in many ways, but it is always there, like a virus in the veins. Japan and Russia, instead of tiring and growing sick of their armies and navies which have brought them so much disaster and suffering and financial burden, have immediately set their hearts upon having larger, more deadly and expensive ones. Russia will build a new navy as good as the best in the world. The Japanese ship yards will be kept busy vying with those of her big "enemy." And so, in all probability, the two peoples, in spite of appearances and all efforts to the contrary, will stand over against each other in the

years to come with much suspicion and illwill and malign purposes rankling in their hearts.

Another effect of war is the increase of the spirit of violence and lawlessness among the masses of the people. The great strike which has been in progress in Russia, which has paralyzed the nation, has its roots, of course, in the general political and economic condition of the country. But the extraordinary violence and lawlessness attending it on the part both of some of the strikers and of the government officials are undoubtedly the effect of the war, which has stimulated the brutal passions and again accustomed the nation to habits of blood and destruction.

A third lesson of the war is that all aggression and high-handed trespassing upon the rights of others, however successful and fortunate it may seem at the time, ultimately brings disaster and punishment of some kind. The aggressions of Russia in the Far East, which seemed so successful and irresistible, and before which it looked as if all the East would fall hopeless and helpless, have suddenly reacted upon her own head, and she has been compelled to return home sorely wounded and bleeding. It will be well for the other powers which have been, at their sweet will, insulting and rending poor China, to take this lesson to heart without further delay, if they do not wish the fate of Russia to overtake them in some way. Let them give up their "spheres of influence," go home and attend to their own business, and conduct all their future dealings with the East in the spirit and on the principles of justice and fairness. That is the pathway both of duty and of security.

Another and perhaps the most serious of all the lessons of the war is that militarism is the worst enemy that a country can have. It eats away the vitality and degrades the soul of a people, and leaves it at last weak and helpless, even from the military point of view. Russia was universally supposed to be the mightiest military power on the face of the globe. She was dreaded everywhere as an antagonist in war and as an aggressive colonizer and land grabber. But when the test came there was found to be no strength in her. She went down under the blows of a small, vigorous new power, not yet degraded by militarism, which it was supposed she would quickly crush and grind to powder. It is the old lesson of history which the governments never seem to learn, to which the militarists are utterly blind.

Japan's greatest danger to-day is not from any possible war of revenge which Russia may make upon her in the future: it is from the militarizing of her people, which will almost inevitably result from her victorious campaign against Russia. If she continues to enlarge her navy and to send tens of thousands of her young men to live in the military barracks for two or three years, she will be unable to escape the degradation and devitalization which has always

followed standing armies. But if she lets her war strength alone and turns her attention more than ever to education, to the development of her industries and her commerce, as the great meeting of representatives of her chambers of commerce a few days ago indicates that she intends to do, her future of greatness and power need have no end. But let her beware of allowing her people to become possessed of a dominating military spirit.

As to Russia, it is to be feared that she has not well learned the lesson of the real cause of her collapse and humiliation. She is proceeding to repeat the immense blunder which she has made in the past. If, instead of building a great fleet of new war vessels and attempting to keep up her huge standing army, of neither of which she has the slightest need if she pursues a course of right and justice, she would abandon this naval program, send home one-half at least of her soldiers, and turn her attention to the education of the people and the general improvement of the conditions of life throughout the empire, she would not only bring herself universal honor and respect, but also strength and security without and within such as she has never yet known. It is a great opportunity that is now before the Czar's government, such as rarely comes to any government, such as may never come again if it is not improved.

Since the above was written the Czar's manifesto, proclaiming a real national assembly, has been published. On this we comment elsewhere.

End of the Rule of Absolutism in Russia.

The thirtieth day of October will hereafter be reckoned one of the great days in the history of human progress; for on that day the Czar of Russia sent out a manifesto which did away with the reign of absolutism in that empire, and gave to the Russian people what will speedily develop into constitutional government with a general franchise.

It was a great act, fraught with great blessing for the future of Russia and of the world, whatever immediate causes may have brought it about. Those who have closely scrutinized events in Russia for the last dozen years or so have seen that the day of Russia's redemption was near at hand. The only serious question was how it was to come about, by a peaceful revolution or by a storm of violence and bloodshed like that which fell upon France at the close of the eighteenth century.

Everybody will hope that the step which Emperor Nicholas has taken will avert the worst aspects of the storm which was already breaking. The past month, with its great strike and attendant disorders and violence, made a gloomy outlook, and the Czar did not speak a moment too soon to prevent widespread bloodshed and destruction and possibly the